

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 134-75
27 AUGUST 1975

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EAST ASIA BRIEF 134-75.4

1. JAPAN-CHINA: ON AUGUST 15, TOKYO AND PEKING SIGNED TWO AGREEMENTS--ONE ON FISHERIES, THE OTHER AUTHORIZING A NEW CONSULATE IN EACH COUNTRY--DESPITE SPECULATION THAT THE PACTS MIGHT BE DELAYED AS A RESULT OF PEKING'S DISPLEASURE OVER THE RECENTLY SIGNED JAPAN-TAIWAN CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT.4

AT THE SIGNING OF THE FISHERIES PACT IN TOKYO, FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA EXPRESSED TO CHINESE AM-BASSADOR CHEN CHU THE HOPE THAT THE LONG-DELAYED PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY COULD BE SIGNED SOON. THE TALKS HAVE BEEN BLOCKED BY CHINESE INSISTENCE ON THE ANTI-SOVIET CLAUSE CONDEMNING "THIRD PARTY HEGEMONY" IN ASIA. PRIME MINISTER MIKI WOULD LIKE TO RECAST THE PROPOSED ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE INTO A "UNIVERSAL PEACE PRINCIPLE" NOT AIMED AT ANY SPECIFIC THIRD COUNTRY, BUT THE CHINESE ARE STANDING FIRM.4

CONTRARY TO PRESS SPECULATION, TOKYO APPARENTLY

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HAS NO PLANS TO SEND A SPECIAL ENVOY TO PEKING TO TRY TO GET PEACE TREATY TALKS MOVING IN THE NEAR FUTURE. MIYAZAWA, HOWEVER, MAY WELL MEET WITH CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA AT THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETING NEXT MONTH AND TRY TO BREAK THE IMPASSE. {CONFIDENTIAL}

2. SOUTH VIETNAM: CELEBRATIONS HAVE BEGUN IN VIETNAM COMMEMORATING THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AUGUST REVOLUTION OF 1945 WHICH LED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NORTH VIETNAM ON SEPTEMBER 2. THE COMMUNIST TOOK OVER IN SOUTH VIETNAM ON APRIL 30, BUT THIS PART OF THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN UNDER VIRTUAL MARTIAL LAW FOR THE PAST THREE MONTHS WITH THE MILITARY EXERCISING ALMOST EXCLUSIVE CONTROL OVER THE DAILY TASKS OF ADMINISTRATION. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE COMMUNISTS WILL USE THE SEPTEMBER 2ND ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS TO ANNOUNCE THE FORMATION OF A CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT FOR THE SOUTH OR PROVIDE SOME INDICATION WHEN THAT

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TRANSITION WILL OCCUR. BEYOND THIS POSSIBILITY, HOWEVER, THE COMMUNISTS ARE NOT EXPECTED TO MAKE MANY ADDITIONAL COMMITMENTS ON THE SOUTH'S FUTURE, ESPECIALLY REGARDING REUNIFICATION.

WHAT THE FIRST 100 OR SO DAYS OF COMMUNIST CONTROL OF VIETNAM HAS MOST CLEARLY SHOWN IS THAT THE GOAL OF FORMAL REUNIFICATION WILL BE PURSUED GRADUALLY AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH NO PRECONCEIVED TIMETABLE. THE IMPATIENCE FOR SOME INDICATION OF HOW SOON THAT WILL OCCUR SEEMS TO BE GREATER OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY THAN AMONG THE VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES. FOR A PEOPLE WHO MAINTAIN THEY HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR CENTURIES TO REUNIFY THEIR COUNTRY, A FEW MORE MONTHS OR YEARS IS OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE.

THE FIRST THREE MONTHS HAVE ALSO SHOWN THAT THE VIETNAMESE MAY HAVE UNDERESTIMATED SOME OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THEM FOLLOWING THE VICTORY.

THE RAPID COLLAPSE OF THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT PUT THE

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COMMUNISTS IN AN EXPOSED POSITION ADMINISTRATIVELY. A RECENT JOINT ARTICLE BY HANOI'S DEFENSE CHIEF AND HIS DEPUTY CONFIRMS THAT NORTH VIETNAM'S OBJECTIVES UNTIL THE LATTER PART OF MARCH WERE CONSIDERABLY MORE LIMITED THAN TOTAL VICTORY. THE LAST MINUTE DECISION TO GO ALL OUT--MADE ON MARCH 25--DID NOT PERMIT HANOI TO DO MUCH POLITICAL HOMEWORK BEFORE ASSUMING ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF THE SOUTH.4

MANY OF THE INITIAL COMMUNIST ACTIONS WERE MAKESHIFT AND HAD LITTLE RESEMBLANCE TO FIRM POLICY DECISIONS OR SOUND ADMINISTRATIVE JUDGMENT. IN THE ENSUING WEEKS, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE BEGUN TO CONCEDE PUBLICLY THAT THE BUSINESS OF PUTTING THE COUNTRY BACK INTO WORKING ORDER WOULD LIKELY BE A LONG AND DIFFICULT TASK AND THAT INSTILLING THE PROPER DEDICATION TO THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE AMONG THE SOUTHERN POPULATION AS A WHOLE MIGHT REQUIRE LENGTHIER AND HARSHER FORMS OF PERSUASION THAN THE COMMUNISTS

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PROBABLY ORIGINALLY ANTICIPATED WOULD BE NECESSARY.4

THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE GOALS OF A SOCIALIST AND COLLECTIVIZED SOUTH REUNITED WITH AND DOMINATED BY THE NORTH, WILL BE MODERATED. IN THEIR PUBLIC COMMENTARY, BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST OFFICIALS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT DE FACTO REUNIFICATION OCCURRED WITH THE SURRENDER OF SAIGON. THESE STATEMENTS, IN ADDITION TO OTHER INDICATIONS, HAVE ALSO CLEARLY ESTABLISHED THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARE IN CONTROL AND THAT HANOI IS CALLING THE SHOTS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN EARLY MAY A MILITARY MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED IN SAIGON HEADED BY A NORTH VIETNAMESE GENERAL, AND DURING CELEBRATIONS ON MAY 19 COMMEMORATING HO CHI MINH'S BIRTHDAY, THE FOURTH-RANKING MEMBER OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE POLITBURO WAS PUBLICLY IDENTIFIED AS THE INDIVIDUAL IN CHARGE OF PARTY AND MILITARY AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTH. IT BECAME EVIDENT THAT FOR THE TIME BEING VIETNAM

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WOULD BE ONE COUNTRY UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY, BUT WITH "TWO GOVERNMENTS."4

THE COMMUNISTS PROBABLY WILL DECIDE ON FORMALLY
REUNIFYING THE COUNTRY WHEN THEY ARE SATISFIED THE
BULK OF THE PROBLEMS WITH SECURITY AND THE ECONOMY
IN THE SOUTH ARE UNDER CONTROL. THE MOST LIKELY
FORMAT FOR ACHIEVING FORMAL REUNIFICATION WOULD BE
TO HOLD A PLEBISCITE. SUCH A FORUM IN ITSELF ARGUES
FOR A DELIBERATE PACE SINCE THE COMMUNISTS MUST BE
CERTAIN THAT THE "FREE" CHOICE OF THE PEOPLE WILL
BE PROPERLY EXPRESSED.4

THE COMMUNISTS HAVE CONCEDED IN THE PUBLIC MEDIA
THAT THEIR MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM IS SECURITY. RE-
SISTANCE TO THE NEW REGIME IS MOSTLY FROM FORMER
GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS FEARING FOR THEIR LIVES, RELI-
GIOUS GROUPS PHILOSOPHICALLY OPPOSED TO THE
COMMUNISTS, ETHNIC GROUPS WHICH TRADITIONALLY HAVE
RESISTED ANY SORT OF VIETNAMESE DOMINATION, AND

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ROBBERS AND BANDITS STEALING TO SURVIVE. NONE OF THIS RESISTANCE ACTIVITY APPEARS ORGANIZED AND IT IS UNLIKELY TO PRESENT ANY LONG-TERM THREAT TO COMMUNIST CONTROL. BUT IT IS A THORN IN THE SIDE OF THE COMMUNISTS AND UNQUESTIONABLY IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR COMPOUNDING THE OTHER PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE NEW REGIME.4

SECOND ON THE LIST OF PROBLEMS IS THE ECONOMY, WHICH THE COMMUNISTS ADMIT IS IN SAD SHAPE. ACTIONS TAKEN SO FAR APPEAR TO BE MAKESHIFT--FOR EXAMPLE, BANKS WERE SECRETLY REOPENED, BUT NO NEW MONEY HAS BEEN PRINTED. LIVING CONDITIONS IN SAIGON AND THROUGHOUT THE REST OF THE COUNTRY APPEAR TO HAVE DETERIORATED SOMEWHAT, BUT THERE ARE AS YET NO INDICATIONS OF MASS STARVATION OR WIDESPREAD EPI-DEMICS. PEOPLE IN THE CITIES ARE BEING ENCOURAGED TO RETURN TO THE COUNTRYSIDE TO RESUME FARMING IN THE HOPE OF TENTATIVE INDICATIONS THAT FOOD SHORTAGES

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MAY OCCUR LATER THIS YEAR. THE COMMUNISTS LACK THE FERTILIZERS, MACHINERY AND SPARE PARTS, FUEL, AND HIGH YIELD RICE STOCKS TO BECOME SELF-SUFFICIENT IN FOOD AND PROBABLY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO OFFSET THESE SHORTCOMINGS BY EXPANDING FARM ACREAGE.4

THE COMMUNISTS APPEAR TO HAVE BEGUN EFFORTS TO MOBILIZE NON-COMMUNIST MEMBERS OF THE POPULATION TO ATTACK THESE VARIOUS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. A RECENT SAIGON MUNICIPAL CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT WAS HELD IN JULY AND IS THE BEST SIGN TO DATE THAT ATTEMPTS ARE BEING MADE TO INTENSIFY SUCH EFFORTS ON A NATIONAL SCALE. THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT IS THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST VEHICLE FOR MOBILIZING WIDESPREAD NON-COMMUNIST POPULAR PARTICIPATION TO IMPLEMENT PARTY POLICY.4

JUST AS THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS HAVE ADOPTED A DELIBERATE TIMETABLE FOR INTERNAL CONSOLIDATION IN THE SOUTH, THEY APPEAR TO BE IN NO GREAT HURRY TO

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SEVERAL COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY, THE TWO BIG COMMUNIST ALLIES, HAVE COMPLAINED ABOUT NOT BEING PERMITTED EARLY OFFICIAL ACCESS TO SAIGON. SO FAR, HOWEVER, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE PERMITTED NO FOREIGN MISSIONS INTO THE SOUTH, ALTHOUGH SINCE ASSUMING POWER, THEY HAVE AGREED

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TO EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS WITH OVER 80 COUNTRIES.4

HANOI HAS NONETHELESS ENCOURAGED THE SOUTHERN
 REGIME TO EXPAND ITS DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY AND TO BE
 ACCEPTED AS A SEPARATE MEMBER OF THE WORLD COM-
 MUNITY. IT CERTAINLY HAD TO APPROVE SAIGON'S AP-
 PPLICATION FOR SEPARATE ADMISSION TO THE UN AND
 ENDORSE THE SAIGON REQUEST TO BE ADMITTED TO THE
 NONALIGNED GROUP OF NATIONS. THE LATTER MOVE
 UNQUESTIONABLY IS TIED TO HANOI'S ATTEMPT TO ASSURE
 AS MUCH THIRD-COUNTRY SUPPORT FOR THE RECENT UN
 BIDS AS POSSIBLE--WITHOUT RELYING EXCLUSIVELY
 ON ITS COMMUNIST BACKERS. BUT IN FACT, THE NUMEROUS
 PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST OFFICIALS
 TO THE EFFECT THAT A DE FACTO UNION OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH
 HAS ALREADY BEEN ACCOMPLISHED DID LITTLE TO
 STRENGTHEN THE CASE FOR TWO TRULY INDEPENDENT
 VIETNAMESE STATES. IF THE PROCESS OF REUNIFICA-
 TION CONTINUES TO PROCEED SMOOTHLY, THE ISSUE OF

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DUAL MEMBERSHIP FOR NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM COULD
BECOME A DEAD ISSUE BEFORE LONG. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET-H

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 134-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: PORTUGUESE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF FABIAO REPORTEDLY HAS CEASED TRYING TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT TO REPLACE THAT OF PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES.4

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ACCORDING TO

NEITHER GENERAL FABIAO NOR INTERNAL SECURITY CHIEF OTELO DE CARVALHO ARE PARTICIPATING ANY LONGER IN THE EFFORT TO OUST GONCALVES. THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMMUNIST-BACKED POWER PLAY TO STAVE OFF AN EFFORT TO REMOVE GONCALVES BY FORCE.4

A LISBON NEWSPAPER, WHICH IS SAID TO HAVE GOOD CONTACTS WITH THE ANTUNES GROUP THAT HAS SPEARHEADED THE ANTI-GONCALVES MOVE, ALSO REPORTS THAT FABIAO HAS GIVEN UP HIS EFFORTS. THE NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT SAYS THAT FURTHER ATTEMPTS AT A COMPROMISE MAY BE UNDER WAY THAT WOULD ASSIGN THE TASK OF FORMING A NEW GOVERNMENT TO SOMEONE ELSE, POSSIBLY NAVY CHIEF OF STAFF AZEVEDO. HE IS A CLOSE FRIEND OF PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES AND LAST WEEK GAVE AT LEAST INDIRECT SUPPORT TO GONCALVES.4

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A WITHDRAWAL OF FABIAO AND CARVALHO WOULD BE A SERIOUS BLOW TO THE ANTUNES GROUP, ALTHOUGH NOT NECESSARILY A FATAL ONE. THIS, COUPLED WITH THE COMMUNISTS' INCREASING SHOW OF CONFIDENCE AND STRENGTH IN LISBON, WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY CAUSE ANTUNES AND HIS FOLLOWERS TO REASSESS THEIR OWN MILITARY STRENGTH.4

GONCALVES, MEANWHILE, APPEARS DETERMINED TO PRESERVE THE APPEARANCE OF AN ACTIVE PRIME MINISTER PRESIDING OVER A FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT. HE MET WITH THE DECOLONIZATION COMMISSION ON TUESDAY MORNING AND LATER PRESIDED OVER A CABINET MEETING. A COMMUNIQUE AFTER THE CABINET SESSION UNDERLINED THE DECISION TO REORGANIZE CERTAIN MILITARY BODIES, INCLUDING THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, WHICH HAS OPPOSED GONCALVES' CONSOLIDATION OF POWER.4

THE GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NEWLY ORGANIZED UNITED FRONT COMPRISING THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND SEVEN OTHER LEFT-WING EXTREMIST GROUPS AS AN EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT TO HALT THE WIDESPREAD ANTI-COMMUNIST VIOLENCE. THE FRONT HAS CALLED FOR A SERIES OF "UNITY DEMONSTRATIONS"

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TO BE HELD THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IN SUPPORT OF GONCALVES.

THE FIRST IS SCHEDULED FOR WEDNESDAY EVENING IN LISBON. (CONFIDENTIAL)

2. FRANCE-ITALY-PORTUGAL: FRENCH AND ITALIAN COMMUNISTS HAVE RESPONDED HESITANTLY TO PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST LEADER SOARES' CALL FOR A CONFERENCE OF SOUTHERN EUROPEAN SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES TO DISCUSS PORTUGAL.

FRENCH SOCIALIST LEADER MITTERRAND AND HIS ITALIAN COUNTERPART, DE MARTINO, REACTED QUICKLY AND POSITIVELY TO SOARES' REQUEST. COMMUNIST LEADERS IN THE TWO COUNTRIES, HOWEVER, APPEAR CAUGHT BETWEEN THEIR DESIRE TO BE FORTHCOMING FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION AT HOME AND THEIR RELUCTANCE TO GET INVOLVED IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE AN ATTEMPT BY SOARES TO USE THEM TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY TO ADOPT A MORE COOPERATIVE LINE.

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF ALL THREE COUNTRIES INVITED TO ATTEND—FRANCE, SPAIN, AND ITALY—HAVE SOUGHT, TO ONE DEGREE OR ANOTHER, ALLIANCES WITH DEMOCRATIC PARTIES TO OPEN THE PATH TO POWER. THE PARTIES IN ITALY AND SPAIN, IN PARTICULAR, HAVE BEEN

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CRITICAL OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS' CAVALIER ATTITUDE TOWARD
DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES AND ADOPTION OF MORE TRADITIONAL REVOLUTIONARY
TACTICS.4

IN AN OBVIOUS STALLING TACTIC, FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER GEORGE MARCHAIS ARGUED IN HIS REPLY LAST WEEK THAT SOLIDARITY OF THE LEFT IN WESTERN EUROPE IS TOO IMPORTANT FOR SUCH A MEETING TO BE RESTRICTED TO PORTUGAL, FRANCE, ITALY, AND SPAIN, AND SUGGESTED OTHER EUROPEAN PARTIES BE INVITED AS WELL. HE PROBABLY HOPES THAT AT WORST THE DIFFICULTY OF ORGANIZING SUCH A MEETING WILL DELAY IT UNTIL THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL IS MORE SETTLED, OR AT BEST THAT THE PROPOSAL WILL BE FORGOTTEN ENTIRELY. MARCHAIS REALIZES THAT ON MOST ISSUES HIS PARTY WOULD BE IN AGREEMENT ONLY WITH THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS--SHOULD THEY ATTEND, WHICH IS DOUBTFUL--AND DOES NOT WANT TO MAKE HIS PARTY'S ISOLATION EVEN MORE APPARENT TO THE FRENCH ELECTORATE.4

THE EVENTS IN PORTUGAL HAVE PROVOKED A QUARREL, WIDELY REPORTED
IN THE PRESS, BETWEEN THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS, IN
WHICH MARCHAIS HAS COME OFF SECOND BEST. HIS IMAGE AS THE NOBE

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DOCTRINAIRE, INFLEXIBLE, AND LESS DEMOCRATIC LEADER HAS BEEN REINFORCED. HIS RIVAL, SOCIALIST PARTY SECRETARY FRANCOIS MITTERRAND, HAS GAINED BY APPEARING TO BE A TRADITIONAL SOCIAL DEMOCRAT WHO KNOWS THE LIMITATIONS OF HIS ALLIANCE WITH THE COMMUNISTS AND CAN STAND UP TO THEIR IDEOLOGICAL ASSAULTS.4

MITTERRAND REPORTEDLY WILL BE MEETING WITHIN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS WITH WEST EUROPEAN SOCIALIST LEADERS TO DISCUSS AID TO PORTUGAL.4

THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS ALSO RESPONDED CAUTIOUSLY TO SOARES' PROPOSAL. THEY MADE A STATEMENT APPROVING IN PRINCIPLE UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS SO LONG AS THEY HAVE BEEN ADEQUATELY PREPARED. THIS CIRCUMSPECTION SEEMS TO REFLECT THE PARTY'S DESIRE TO PLAY ALONG, WHILE AVOIDING POLEMICAL EXCHANGES WITH THE SOVIETS. IN RECENT WEEKS, THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS SEEMED TO BE BACKING AWAY FROM THEIR EARLIER OPEN CRITICISM OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS' STRONG-ARM TACTICS.4

THE ITALIAN SOCIALISTS, ON THE OTHER HAND, REACTED ENTHUSIASTICALLY TO SOARES' PROPOSAL AND EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH

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THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS' EQUIVOCAL SUPPORT. THE SOCIALISTS ARE TRYING TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY LEAD THE LEFT, IN PART BY AVOIDING OPEN DIFFERENCES WITH THE COMMUNISTS. THE SOCIALISTS ALSO WELCOMED SOARES' PROPOSAL AS A VINDICATION OF THEIR JOINT COMMUNIQUE WITH THE COMMUNISTS IN MID-AUGUST, WHICH CALLED FOR A POLITICAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN PORTUGUESE "DEMOCRATIC" PARTIES AND THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT. THE SOCIALISTS DREW STRONG DOMESTIC CRITICISM FOR THAT ACT OF "NEO-FRONTISM" WITH THE COMMUNISTS.4

THE SPANISH PARTIES HAVE YET TO RESPOND TO SOARES' INVITATION. {SECRET}4

3. ROMANIA: ROMANIA HAS MOVED ANOTHER STEP AWAY FROM THE SOVIET BLOC BY GAINING ADMISSION--AS A "GUEST"--TO THE CURRENT NONALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IN LIMA. BUCHAREST REGARDS ATTENDANCE AT LIMA AS PREPARING THE GROUND FOR AN EFFORT TO GAIN "OBSERVER" STATUS--A NOTCH ABOVE THAT OF "GUEST"--AT THE FIFTH NONALIGNED SUMMIT IN COLOMBO NEXT YEAR. SUCH AN INITIATIVE IS BOUND TO PLACE STILL MORE

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STRAIN ON SOVIET-ROMANIAN RELATIONS.4

ROMANIA SOUGHT OBSERVER STATUS AT THE FOURTH NONALIGNED SUMMIT IN ALGIERS IN 1973, BUT WAS REBUFFED--APPARENTLY AT YUGOSLAVIA'S BEHEST. THE STUMBLING BLOCK WAS BELGRADE'S VIEW THAT ROMANIA'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOVIET ALLIANCE SYSTEM PRECLUDED ITS FORMAL AFFILIATION WITH THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT.4

BELGRADE HAS NOW MELLOWED, AND FAVORS ROMANIAN OBSERVER STATUS; IT HAS EVEN ENCOURAGED BUCHAREST TO GO TO LIMA, AND NEXT YEAR TO COLOMBO.4

BY GAINING ADMISSION AT COLOMBO BUCHAREST WOULD BE ASSOCIATING ITSELF WITH SUCH NONALIGNED CONCEPTS AS THE DIVISION OF THE WORLD INTO THE "HAVES" AND "HAVE NOTS." THESE FORMULATIONS ARE ALIEN TO SOVIET DOCTRINE, WHICH PURPORTS TO VIEW INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN TERMS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET-H

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 134-75.4

BRAZIL: NEW GOVERNMENT PARTY PRESIDENT: PRESIDENT GEISEL'S SELECTION OF A POLITICIAN WITH NO NATIONAL STATURE TO HEAD THE GOVERNING NATIONAL RENEWAL ALLIANCE PARTY HAS DISAPPOINTED PARTY MEMBERS. GEISEL'S CHOICE IS FRANCELINO PEREIRA, A 54-YEAR OLD FEDERAL DEPUTY FROM THE STATE OF MINAS GERAIS. HE REPLACES SENATOR PETRONIO PORTELLA, WHOM SOME PARTY MEMBERS BLAMED, AT LEAST IN PART, FOR LAST YEAR'S ELECTORAL SETBACK.

PARTY POLITICIANS WERE UPSET BY GEISEL'S CHOICE BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT IMPOSED HIS DECISION WITHOUT CONSULTING THEM. THEY SEE THIS UNDEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE AS INAPPROPRIATE FOR A PRESIDENT WHO HAS RAISED THEIR HOPES FOR A LIBERALIZATION OF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE. MOREOVER, THE PARTY FAITHFUL WERE DISAPPOINTED THAT PEREIRA GOT THE NOD WHEN A YOUNGER, MORE ENERGETIC MAN WAS SORELY NEEDED TO GALVANIZE THE PARTY AND ENHANCE ITS ELECTORAL APPEAL.

PEREIRA IS NOT WITHOUT MERIT, HOWEVER. IN THE 1974 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS HE POLLED THE LARGEST NUMBER OF VOTES

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OF ANY CANDIDATE RUNNING FOR THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES IN MINAS GERAIS. MOREOVER, HE IS KNOWN FOR HIS AFFABILITY AND TALENT FOR KEEPING LINES OPEN TO VARIOUS PARTY FACTIONS. INDEED, THE LATTER QUALITY MAY HAVE BEEN DECISIVE IN GAINING HIM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE STRIFE-TORN PARTY. WHILE HIS VOTING RECORD INDICATES NO IDEOLOGICAL LEANINGS, HE WAS CONSIDERED A CENTER-LEFT SOCIAL DEMOCRAT EARLIER IN HIS CAREER.

AS PARTY PRESIDENT PEREIRA WILL WIELD LITTLE REAL POWER; HIS MAIN ROLE WILL BE TO CONVEY GEISEL'S WISHES TO THE PARTY. NEVERTHELESS, IN HIS PRESENT POSITION HE WILL BECOME NATIONALLY KNOWN, AND HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS WILL OFTEN BE TAKEN AS AUTHORITATIVE EXPRESSIONS OF PRESIDENTIAL SENTIMENT. FOR THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THE PARTY PRESIDENT SHOULD BE A SYMBOL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO LIBERALIZATION OR A MIRACLE WORKER WHO CAN SOMEHOW MAKE THE PARTY STRONG, PEREIRA IS LIKELY TO BE A DISAPPOINTMENT. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2IMPDET.H

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 134-75.4

IRAQ-SYRIA: SAUDI ARABIA WILL HOST A TRIPARTITE MEETING THIS WEEK WITH IRAQ AND SYRIA IN AN EFFORT TO FIND A FORMULA TO RESOLVE THE EUPHRATES RIVER DISPUTE. THE SAUDIS PROBABLY ALSO HOPE TO PERSUADE THE TWO PARTIES TO CEASE THEIR OPEN BICKERING. RECENT PRIVATE AND PUBLIC COMMENTS BY IRAQI STRONGMAN SADDAM HUSAYN DO NOT AUGUR WELL, HOWEVER, FOR AN EARLY EASING OF THE ANTAGONISM THAT EXISTS BETWEEN BAGHDAD AND DAMASCUS.4

THE IRAQI MINISTER OF IRRIGATION ANNOUNCED ON AUGUST 23 UPON HIS RETURN FROM A VISIT TO RIYADH THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE THREE COUNTRIES WOULD HOLD TALKS IN TAIF ON THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO APPORTION EUPHRATES RIVER WATER BETWEEN SYRIA AND IRAQ.4

THE SAUDIS HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN EFFORTS TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES ON THE RIVER ISSUE SINCE THE DISPUTE FLARED UP LAST SPRING.

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ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES OF PRINCE FAHD'S
 VISIT TO DAMASCUS TWO WEEKS AGO WAS TO BREAK THE
 IRAQI-SYRIAN DEADLOCK.4

THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF
 FAHD'S VISIT STATED THAT SYRIA HAD AGREED TO A
 PROPORTIONAL SHARING OF EUPHRATES WATER WITH IRAQ
 AND THAT AN AGREEMENT WITH BAGHDAD WOULD BE SIGNED
 AT A LATER DATE. NO DETAILS OF THE PROPOSED AGREE-
 MENT WERE GIVEN IN THE COMMUNIQUE AND BAGHDAD MADE
 NO COMMENT. [REDACTED]

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IN THE MIDST OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS, IRAQI LEADER
 SADDAM HUSAYN IS CONTINUING HIS VERBAL ASSAULT AGAINST
 DAMASCUS. HE TOLD THE BEIRUT PRESS LAST WEEKEND THAT
 HE FORESEES NO PROSPECT OF IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH
 DAMASCUS--EVEN IF THE SYRIANS DECIDED TO MEET IRAQ'S
 NEEDS FOR EUPHRATES WATER. EARLIER THIS MONTH, HE
 TOOK A TOUGH LINE IN PRIVATE COMMENTS PLEDGING TO

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